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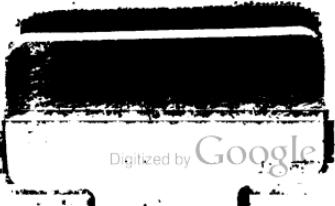
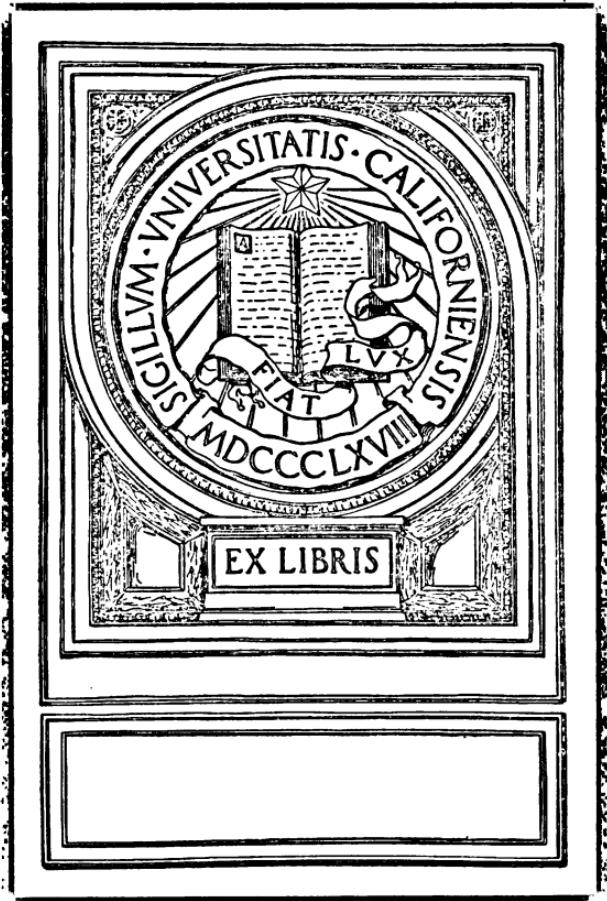
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# POLITICAL TRACT NO. 7.

MARCH, 1832.

## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

### STATE RIGHTS & FREE TRADE

## CONVENTION,

HELD IN CHARLESTON, (S. C.)

ON THE 22d AND 25th FEBRUARY, 1832.]



*"Animis Opibusque Parati."*

---

PUBLISHED BY THE STATE RIGHTS AND FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION.

CHARLESTON:

PRINTED BY E. J. VAN BRUNT,  
No. 121 East-Bay.

.....  
1832.

Duplicate Disposed of  
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## MINUTES

### OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CONVENTION.

CHARLESTON, (S. C.) FEB. 22, 1832.

THE Convention of Delegates from the State Rights and Free Trade Associations, of every District in the State (but one) was organized at 7 o'clock, P. M. this evening.

On motion of the Hon. Henry Deas, His Excellency JAMES HAMILTON, JR. was called to the Chair, and MYER M. COHEN, appointed to act as Secretary of the Convention. The Secretary then called the list of the several Delegates, and they enrolled their names in the following order:

*Delegates from St. Philip's and St. Michael's Association.*

J. Hamilton, jr. H. Deas, Nathaniel Heyward, R. J. Turnbull, Elias Horry, I. E. Holmes, B. F. Dunkin, H. W. Peronneau, C. E. Miller, B. A. Markley, J. Magrath, C. Douglass, J. F. Mintzing, W. Peronneau Finley; Alexander Mazyck, C. J. Colcock, H. L. Pinckney, Philip Tidymar, Samuel Prioleau, J. Ladson Grégorie, B. Elliott, Richard Cunningham, John Bryan, Charles M. Furman, Ker Boyce, Edward Frost, Myer M. Cohen, John A. Stuart, Arthur Middleton, Wm. A. Carson, H. N. Cruger, Jacob Axson, Neill McNeill, S. L. Simons, Edward R. Laurens.

*Greenville Association.*—Baylies J. Earle, Waddy Thompson, jr.

*Union District Association.*—Joseph N. Shelton, A. W. Thompson, Bird M. Pearson, Wm. H. Gist.

*Spartanburg Association.*—Wm. Farrow, T. F. Murphy.

*Darlington Association.*—John K. Charles, E. A. Law, Alexander D. Sims.

*Barnwell Association.*—James O. Hagood, John Rickenbaker.

*Marion Association.*—Thomas Harlee, Edward B. Wheeler.

*Abbeville Association.*—Wm. A. Bull, Samuel L. Watts, John G. Fraser, Richard Griffin, Joel Smith, F. G. Thomas.

*Edgefield Association.*—Whitfield Brooks, A. P. Butler, Wm. Garrett, Abner Whatley.

*Prince Williams Parish Association.*—James Cuthbert, Lawrence E. Dawson, B. M'Brade, J. M. Chisolm, Wm. Williams, Isaac B. Ulmer, Perry Fripp.

*St. Luke's Delegation.*—Julius G. Huguenin, John H. Hogg, W. F. Colcock, James Kirk, James M. Smith, Alexander Edwards, J. Fielding, Benjamin Scott, W. Pope.

*Richland Association.*—Edward Fisher, J. M. Howell, P. M. Butler, Wm. M. Myers, Wm. C. Clifton, John Bryce, James Davis, W. C. Preston, James H. Hammond, Theodore Stark, P. L. McLauchlin.

*St. Helena Parish Association—for Beaufort.*—Richard De

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- Treville, M. Jacobs, J. D. Guerard, Stephen Elliot, jr. W. H. Wigg.**  
*For St. Helena Island.*—Charles W. Capers, Thomas Alston Cof-  
fin, Charles G. Capers, Thomas J. Fripp.  
*For Ladies' Island.*—George Cuthbert.  
**Chesterfield District Association.**—K. C. Dubose, Alexander  
Muirhead.  
**Winyaw Association.**—John Alexander Keith, Aaron Lopez, J.  
Walter Phillips.  
**St. Stephen's Parish Association.**—John J. Couturier, Edwin  
Gaillard, Samuel J. Palmer.  
**St. John's Berkley Association.**—Simms White, Benjamin De-  
lay, jr. Wm. Cain, Wm. D. Gourdin, Robert M. Cahusac, J. Theodo-  
dore Couturier.  
**Fairfield Association.**—H. Moore, Thompson T. Player, P. Ed-  
ward Pearson, John J. Myers, Edward G. Palmer, J. D. Strother.  
**St. Bartholomew's Parish Association.**—Malachi Ford, S. W.  
Keith, J. G. Godfrey, F. H. Elmore, R. Barnwell Smith.  
**Orange Parish Association.**—Edmund J. Felder, Thomas A. El-  
liot, J. G. Guignard.  
**Kershaw District Association.**—James S. Deas, Wm. Hopkins,  
L. Boykin, Thomas Abbott, John C. McCrae, B. T. Elmore, J. Cantey.  
**Orangleburg Association.**—D. Rowe, D. B. Jones.  
**St. John's Colleton Association.**—A. J. Forrester, John R. Ma-  
thews, Wm. M. Murray, W. B. Seabrook, John Jenkins, George W.  
Seabrook.  
**Burnicell Association.**—S. H. Butler, Richard A. Gant, Augus-  
tus B. O'Bannon, D. M. Lafitte, A. B. Browne, G. A. Trott.  
**St. James's Santee Association.**—Edward R. Pinckney, J. Blake,  
John S. Palmer.  
**Horry Association.**—J. W. Alston, E. A. Benjamin.  
**Sumter Association.**—Evan Benbow, James Hanesworth, W. J.  
Rees, Richard Singleton, Caleb Rembert, Charles Spann, jr. R. J.  
Brownfield, Robert Bradford, Thomas G. M'Faddin, James G. Spann.  
**Newberry Association.**—James J. Caldwell, T. B. Higgins.  
**Williamsburg Association.**—Thomas D. Singleton, jr. W. Waties,  
H. D. Shaw, Robert Strong.  
**Lexington Association.**—Benjamin Hart, H. J. Caughman, Henry  
Arthur.  
**Laurens Association.**—A. Fuller.  
**Lancaster Association.**—H. Foster, James H. Witherspoon.  
**Marlborough Association.**—J. Murdoch, jr. Wm. T. Ellerbe.  
**St. Matthew's Association.**—R. P. McCord, Wm. S. Thompson,  
W. L. Lewis, C. H. Goodwyn, T. P. McDonald.
- The following Resolution, proposed by Isaac E. Holmes, Esq. was  
passed unanimously:—
- Whereas, The patriotic District of Pendleton, from the unanimity  
which exists among her sons upon the subject of State Rights, has not  
deemed it expedient to form an Association, and is therefore unrepre-  
sented upon this floor.
- Resolved*, As an expression of the sentiments entertained by this  
Convention of the patriotism and zeal of that District, that Col. He-

Thomas Pinckney, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, gentlemen from that District, be invited to take seats upon the floor.

Whereupon the Marshals introduced those gentlemen upon the floor, within the area occupied by the Delegates. His Excellency the Governor, then, as President of the Convention, opened the business thereof by the following Address:—

*Gentlemen*:—I feel very sensibly the honor you have done me by inviting me to preside over your deliberations. The sources of this distinction I recognize in the character of this assembly, and in the crisis at which we are convened.

We have assembled, Gentlemen, as the Delegates of a People, distinguished for their patriotism and their loyal devotion to the Constitution, to devise the best means of maintaining the reserved Sovereignty of the States, and of recovering for the country the lost, but inestimable blessings of Free Trade. Under ordinary circumstances, such an assembly could not fail to challenge public notice; under the exigency in which we are convened, it has excited intense public feeling. The signs of this are around us. In the gush of popular enthusiasm which has filled this spacious edifice to overflowing—in the sympathy which has come this night to bless us, from those who are better and purer than ourselves; from that sex, gentlemen, who are at once the most discriminating as well as inflexible judges of public virtue. We have convened under solemn and imposing circumstances. We have not come here to fan the fires of civil discord, or to impair the just authorities of the constitutional laws of our country. No, we have assembled for a widely different purpose—to consider and mature the best means of diffusing among our people a just knowledge of their rights—of cherishing and invigorating an enlightened public sentiment—of offering up again our pledges, that if the public tranquillity is disturbed, it shall not be of our seeking; and that our only object, with a preservation of the Union of these States, is to maintain those very rights and privileges which that Union was designed to render perpetual.

With these objects in view, let me invite your attention to the necessity of augmenting our resources for issuing more extensively publications from our press, and for a more prompt and diffused circulation of them; and likewise to the expediency of giving to these publications a more popular and less abstract character and form, that they may be brought down to the comprehension of every freeman of the South who is able to read what it so much behoves him to learn.

Our only battery is a free press, and in the light it diffuses we desire to have our principles, our acts, and our motives, scanned with a scrutiny that nothing shall elude.

It may likewise be deemed proper that you should again address the good people of this State. Since our last meeting at Columbia, a session of unexampled interest of the National Legislature has commenced, and is daily developing fresh events at least of instructive admonition, if not of cheering hope. A circumstance unparalleled in the history of nations is about to signalize our annals. A public debt, the accumulated obligation of two successful struggles for freedom (the last emphatically for Free Trade,) approximates immediately its final extinguishment. The permanent policy of the country is to be fixed perhaps for generations to come. Through twelve years of grievous

and unjust taxation, we have been referred to this period as a termination of our pilgrimage and a consummation of our hopes. The crisis has come. But do the omens indicate that relief is to come? Has the fell spirit of monopoly seemingly relaxed one muscle of its rapacious grasp? There can be but one answer to this question. The reflections that obviously belong to this topic, I leave to the temper and judgment with which you will approach its discussion.

The crisis is indeed deeply interesting. This State, which for the last ten years has maintained almost single handed, the unequal struggle for Free Trade and Constitutional Liberty, now presents the spectacle of a people, the fervor of whose excitement has subsided in the depth in which it has fixed, in steadiness and calmness, the public resolution, and in the flood of light it has poured on the public mind.

The existence of this assembly is impressively illustrative of this truth. We are here the delegated exponents of organized associations, which have been established throughout our State, charged with the conservation of those principles of civil and political liberty which we believe to be vitally exposed to peril. How comes it to pass that these organized bodies should so suddenly have risen up throughout our land like camp fires striking their broad glare against the darkness of the night? Is it to minister to some miserable purpose of faction, or contemptible struggle for political power, that we may elevate to the purple some fortunate chief, that he may require our servility, per adventure, by his own ingratitude? Is it that we may usurp the prerogatives of government and exert an energy greater than the law itself? No, we take no part in these pitiful struggles for power—we belong to no faction—we dictate no measures even to our own public authorities—we have nothing to offer them but our obedience, and I trust, if need be, our fortunes and our lives.

From what cause then have these associations started thus into existence? Why, from the obvious moral necessity which good men are under of combining to resist tyranny and oppression,—that, in a confederacy like ours, they may aid, through the force of public opinion, their own authorities at home, which are weak, against a vast central power which is strong, and which, under the insidious forms of a free government, threatens to overwhelm the liberties of our country.

Our vocation, gentlemen, is full of honor as well as responsibility.—It would be an absurd affectation to attempt to conceal the fact, that we exercise, and are destined to exercise, a powerful influence over public sentiment. By the possession of the confidence and esteem of a large portion of our fellow-citizens, we are invested with a trust, the obligations of which we must endeavor to discharge with wisdom, patriotism, firmness, and moderation.

On this night, consecrated to a nation's gratitude—on this night, the Centennial anniversary of the birth of him whose name, as it has been beautifully and justly said, "belongs to the civilized world, and the result of his virtues to the whole human race"—we may well assemble and mingle our aspirations for our country. Who shall deny to us the right to gather round the sacred altars of his glory and his name? Are we infidel worshippers? Is not his life our vindication? Was not his immortality purchased by a glorious resistance to unjust and unconstitutional taxation? If the spirit of the blest are permitted to

revisit the sphere of their usefulness and virtues, may we not invoke his spirit to hover over his once glorious and united, but our now convulsed and distracted country? That if he cannot penetrate the hearts of those who possess its power with a ray of that benignant justice, that flowed like sun beams from the fountain of his own bosom, that he would fill ours with a portion of his lofty courage, his serene undismayed equanimity, his matchless constancy, his stern, his heroic, his invincible spirit of resistance to oppression, that we may meet without faltering, all those duties which it may be within the dispensation of a wise and merciful Providence to decree."

The Hon. Henry Deas then moved, that the Chair appoint the following Committees, with the view of arranging and distributing the business of the Convention, to report at an adjourned meeting to take place on Saturday evening at 7 o'clock.

A Committee to address the good people of this State on the present posture of our relations with the General Government. A Committee on the publication of Tracts. A Committee on contributions. A Committee on the distribution and circulation of Tracts. A Committee on Printing.

Robert J. Turnbull, Esq. addressed the Convention in support of the motion.

The President then presented to the Convention a patriotic and eloquent letter from the venerable Keating Simons, Esq., the President of the Charleston Association, regretting that the state of his health would not allow of his being present at the Meeting, and transmitting the correspondence with Genl. Sumter on the subject of his expected visit to the Convention. An invitation having been extended to him for that purpose on the 13th January, signed by the following committee, Keating Simons, James Hamilton, Sen., R. J. Turnbull, Nathl. Heyward, C. J. Colcock, and Elias Horry. To which, the veteran Hero and Patriot returned an affectionate reply, expressing his regret, that his advanced age and bodily infirmities would prevent his attendance. In this letter, he uses the following language.

"Gentlemen, I have read the resolution which your letter communicates to me in behalf of the Association, "inviting me (in a special and much too flattering form of words,) to attend a Convention in the City of Charleston, on the 22d February next."

This is, I think, the hundredth birth day of our national hero! of the father of his country! If he be now conscious of what is passing in his country—nay, in the favored spot to which he bequeathed his name, and which aspires to the glory of being the chosen monument of his fame—he must look with approbation on all the honest means and measures which the State Rights and Free Trade Party are using, (for that is the only true national Party, in a country which possesses hundreds of acres of uncultivated ground, for every inhabitant it counts)—to restore the Constitution of this Union (on the preservation of which, great part of his fame as a statesman, must forever depend.) to the limits and objects, which he himself assisted in assigning to it,—And to defend from Consolidation and destruction, the States which gave being to that instrument.

This reflection seemed so fit for the occasion, that I could not re-

sist placing it here, as a tribute to the memory of a great and good man, who, though far my superior in every thing else, was but little so in age, and no more than my equal and the equal of thousands of others, in devotion to the cause of National Independence, and to that of the rights of the people and of the States, which were expected; both by him and them, to flow from National Independence.

I trust, that a modification of the same feelings towards me, which procured this most friendly invitation, will incline the friends who gave it, to agree to dispense with my company on this occasion.

I persuade myself therefore, that all circumstances being duly weighed by them, as they have been by me, I shall stand justified in their eyes as I do in my own, for not making the attempt to re-visit *Charleston* and its inhabitants; both of which, nevertheless, have many claims to my remembrance and partiality; more, perhaps, than any one now living, except myself, is aware of; for it was in that place and among its virtuous colonists that I first saw and felt the effects of concerted and orderly associations of men, in resisting and restraining usurped power, and unconstitutional abuses of power. This was in 1765. But I had many occasions of witnessing the same effects there between that date and 1776, when the general and formal Declaration of Independence changed the name and mode of resistance, and gave me fewer opportunities of being in *Charleston* than I had during the period referred to.

You, Gentlemen of the Committee, will do me the favor to offer my reasons and my regrets to the Association which you represent, (and with their permission to the inhabitants of *Charleston* generally) for declining to accept of the honor which you have proposed doing me there on the 2<sup>d</sup> of next month. And here, again, I have to appeal to my brother soldiers of your Association (for I hear of none out of it) to bear witness for me, that my reasons for staying at home are good ones—and ought to be received as valid excuses for that determination on the part of your obliged and obedient servant.

THOMAS SUMTER.

Waddy Thompson, Esq. then addressed the Convention, and offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the President of this Convention do convey to Gen. Sumter, an expression of unfeigned regret that his advanced age and infirm health should have prevented his attendance, and with the assurance of our gratitude to God, that his life has been spared to consecrate by his name our second struggle for freedom.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Pickens Butler, Esq. then addressed the Convention, and offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Free Trade Convention of South Carolina, regards with gratification, and acknowledges with gratitude, the firm, able, and untiring efforts of Henry Lee, of Boston, in the cause of free trade and Constitutional liberty—a cause in which South Carolina is deeply and vitally interested, and for the maintenance of which she is solemnly pledged by every principle of patriotism and of self preservation.

It was carried unanimously.

The Hon. H. L. Pinckney then addressed the Convention and offered a Resolution, tendering the thanks of the Convention to Genl. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, for his firm and manly support, in the Senate of the U. States, of State Rights and Constitutional Liberty." Which was unanimously adopted.

Dr. Tidymann then submitted a Resolution, expressing the gratitude of the Convention to Chancellor Harper, for his zealous and talented exertions in behalf of Southern Rights and Interests, whilst representing our State as a Delegate of the General Free Trade Convention.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted.

In pursuance of the Resolution presented by the Hon. Henry Deas, the following Committees were announced:—

*Committee on the Address.*—C. J. Colcock, Dr. Fisher, Nath. Heyward, W. C. Preston, Evan Benbow, Benjamin F. Elmore, Samuel Prioleau, Waddy Thompson, Wm. A. Bull, Pickens Butler, Thompson T. Player, William Farrow, and John K. Charles.

*Committee on Publications.*—Henry W. Peronneau, W. B. Seabrook, J. G. Spann, Dr. Davis, John Cantey, Benjamin A. Markley, L. E. Dawson, William Dubose.

*Committee on Printing.*—Henry L. Pinckney, Joseph Shelton, Stephen Elliott, Thomas Harlee, Dr. Lafitte, J. A. Stuart, Sims White, J. H. Hammond.

*Committee on Contributions.*—James Deas, John R. Matthews, Richard Singleton, John A. Keith, M. Ford, E. R. Pinckney, Dr. Thomas D. Singleton, J. S. Caldwell.

*Committee on Distribution.*—A. W. Thompson, Whitfield Brooks, Richard A. Gant, J. H. Weatherspoon, jun: William T. Ellerbie, A. Fuller, Henry Caughman, J. L. Gregorie.

On motion of the Hon. Henry Deas, the convention adjourned to Saturday Evening at 7 o'clock.

## THE SECOND MEETING OF THE CONVENTION.

CHARLESTON, FEB. 25th, 1832.

The Convention was called to order at 7 o'clock. The President opened the business of the Convention.

P. M. Butler, Esq. addressed the Meeting, and moved that Genl. Earle be invited to a seat within the area occupied by the Delegates. This motion was unanimously adopted, and accordingly Genl. Earl was introduced by the Marshals.

W. B. Seabrook, Esq. then addressed the Convention, and offered the following Resolutions:—

*Resolved,* That the President of this Convention do convey the thanks of the State Rights and Free Trade Party to the Hon. Robert Y. Hayne, and the Hon. George M'Dutie, for their recent efforts in Congress, in the cause of Free Trade and Constitutional Liberty.

*Resolved,* That we highly approve of the late Speech of Mr. Hayne, in reply to Mr. Clay. Its mildness and liberality, which we commend,

are not incompatible with the solemn determination at which the people of South Carolina have arrived.

*Resolved*, That we regard Mr. M'Duffie's recent Report on a reduction of the duties on imports as indicating the true constitutional point to which the duties ought to fall; and that this distinguished statesman has brought to the discussion of the subject a power of argument and variety of illustration, that make his report one of the ablest among the numerous State papers which have signalized our public history.

It was seconded by B. F. Dunkin, Esq. who, thereupon addressed the Convention.

W. A. Bull, Esq. also addressed the Convention in support of the Resolution.

The President then submitted to the decision of the Convention, the Resolution of Mr. Seabrook, and it was unanimously adopted.

Dr. Tidymon then offered a Resolution, returning thanks to Condé Raguet, Esq. (the talented Editor of the Banner of the Constitution,) for his zealous and successful efforts in detecting the errors and exposing the fallacy of the misnamed American system, as well as for his undeviating exertions in propagating the principles of Free Trade, and ably vindicating the Rights and interests of the people of the Southern States.

This motion was carried unanimously.

Col. J. H. Hammond then addressed the Convention, and offered the following Resolution:

*Resolved*, That the President of this Association express to that consistent Republican and gallant veteran of the Revolution, Col. Samuel Warren, our great regret that infirm health should have prevented his attendance at this Convention. That our cause is honored by the support of a man who shed his youthful blood in behalf of principles to which he is now giving the sanction of his experience and authority as a Representative of the People.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Hon. Henry L. Pinckney then offered the following Report from the Committee on Printing and Publications.—

The Committees on Printing and on Publications, having had a conference on the subjects referred to them respectively, ask leave to Report conjointly, and do respectfully recommend the adoption of the following Resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the printing and publishing of Tracts be continued as heretofore, at Columbia and Charleston, alternately; that one Tract shall be published on the first day of each month at Columbia, and one on the fifteenth day of each month at Charleston; that the Tracts shall average twelve duodecimo pages each, and be printed with brevier; and that of each and every Tract, not less than ten thousand copies shall be printed, for distribution through the State.

2. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend that it be made the duty of the Recording Secretaries of the Charleston and Richmond Associations to attend to the distribution of the Tracts, and that they be allowed such compensation for their services, as may be deemed expedient by those Associations respectively.

3. *Resolved*, That the several Standing Committees of the respec-

ive District and Parish Associations be invited to suggest, from time to time, to the Committees on Publications at Columbia and Charleston, the topics upon which the people of their respective Districts and Parishes may require, particularly, to be well informed.

4. *And Whereas*, in the opinion of this Convention, there is no reasonable prospect of such an adjustment of the Tariff, as will at all alleviate the burdens, or redress the indignities inflicted on the Southern States, and it is, therefore, highly important and desirable that the people should thoroughly understand the process by which these evils may be effectually removed, without incurring either revolution or secession.

**Therefore Resolved**, That it be recommended to the Committees on Publications, to supply the people particularly with such tracts as shall explain and inculcate **NULLIFICATION**, as the legitimate, peaceful, and "rightful remedy" for all oppressive and dangerous violations of the Federal Compact."

This Report was unanimously adopted.

Wallace Thompson, Esq. then addressed the Convention, and presented the following Report of the Committee on Distributions:

The Committee on Distributions, beg leave to Report that they have had the subject under consideration, and submit the following Report:

1st. They recommend that the State be divided into two divisions for distribution, in the following manner, that is, that the Judicial Districts of Edgefield, Lexington, Richland, Kershaw, and Chesterfield, shall form the line constituting the upper, and lower division, that those Districts and all others lying above or North of them, shall be supplied with the Tracts and other publications to which they may be entitled, according to the Report, from Columbia, and all the Associations in the several other Districts and Parishes below or South of that line, shall be supplied from the Association in the City of Charleston.

2. That the several Associations throughout the State be, and they are hereby requested to point out and direct, the Associations in Charleston and Columbia, the best mode and route for conveying to them the publications to which they may be severally entitled, according to this Report.

3d. They further recommend that the publications which may be made by order, of this Association, be distributed amongst the several Districts and Parishes in the State, according to a Schedule accompanying this Report, which is made upon the presumption that there will be 10,000 copies published of each number, which, according to the Report, will leave 966 supernumerary copies to be disposed of at the discretion of the Associations in Charleston and Columbia.

4th. And they therefore recommend that the surplus numbers above mentioned may be transmitted by the Associations in Charleston and Columbia, should they deem it expedient so to do, to our fellow citizens in the sister States, in such manner as they may deem most advisable.

All which, is respectfully submitted.

A. W. THOMSON.

Edgefield, 560; Abbeville, 600; Barnwell, 350; Clarendon and Clermont, 350; Chester, 420; Chesterfield, 200; Darlington, 250; Fairfield, 400; Greenville, 450; Kershaw, 200; Lancaster, 300; Laurens, 500; Lexington, 200; Marlborough, 150; Newberry, 400; Orange and St. Matthews, 280; Richland, 225; Spartanburg, 600; Union, 450; York, 400; St. Philip's and St. Michael's, 500; St. James' Goose Creek, 50; St. John's Colleton, 90; St. John's Berkley, 25; St. Stephen's, 25, Christ Church, 20; St. James' Santee, 12; St. Andrew's, 10; St. Thomas and St. Dennis, 12; St. Bartholomew's, 125; Prince William's, 60; St. Luke's, 40, St. Peter's, 70; Williamsburg, 160; Prince George Winyaw, 75; All Saints, 40; Horry, 130; Marion, 275; St. George's, Dorchester, 50; St. Helena, 40.—Total 9034.

James S. Deas, Esq. as Chairman of the Committee on Contributions, presented the following Report:

The Committee on contributions of the General Convention of the Free Trade and State Rights Associations, Report, that there will be wanted for the uses of the year up to December next, the sum of Four thousand Dollars, of which sum there has been provided the sum of three thousand four hundred and twenty-five dollars—the balance to be now provided, is the sum of four hundred and seventy-four dollars, which your Committee command to be raised by assessment on the new Associations, as follows:

Lauiens Association, the sum of	\$125
St: John's, Berkley,	125
Orange Parish,	75
St. James' Santee,	75
Williamsburgh,	75

\$470

Your Committee recommend that this committee be instructed forthwith to inform these Associations of the sums assessed on them.

Your Committee further recommend that should the above sum not be adequate to the expenses actually incurred, that the Charleston Association be authorized, through their Corresponding Secretary, to collect rateably from the several Associations a sum not to exceed five hundred dollars.

JAMES DEAS, Chairman.

Which Report was adopted.

Judge Colcock then addressed the Convention, and as Chairman of the Committee on the *Address*, read and presented the same as follows:—

*The Delegates in Convention of the State Rights and Free Trade Associations.*

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

WHEN we last addressed you from the Convention in Columbia, we endeavored to impress upon your minds the importance of those principles on which we are associated; and by an appeal to your reason and patriotism, to vindicate our plans and purposes. That "Address" was made during a period of faint and fondly cherished hope, that the

Congress of the United States, just then assembling, would listen to the earnest and solemn appeals made to its justice and wisdom, and avail itself of the auspicious juncture to afford a prompt and ample remedy for our long endured grievances. It had been publicly announced by our Legislature, that when all hope of redress had been extinguished, the State *had* the right, and *would* perform the duties of redressing herself. South-Carolina under these circumstances, had paused to wait the decision of the present Congress, and although an attentive examination of the principles and purposes of the majority in Congress which had enacted and sustained the Tariff, forbade us to entertain very sanguine expectations of relief, yet we were unwilling entirely to despair. The Congress of the United States has now been in session nearly three months.

All agree, that as far as the General Government is concerned, its final decision is now to be made. These circumstances, fellow-citizens, authorize us to address you on the present occasion. You are our brethren—our country is our common inheritance—its interests our common property, and its liberty, happiness and glory the common objects of our guardianship and defence. If there are any among you who hate the injustice of our oppressors less than what some consider the heresies of our principles—if there are any among you who, after full deliberation, prefer the quiet of a predetermined settled submission to injustice and a violation of the Constitution—to the hazard of asserting and maintaining our rights, we are willing to confess, however painful may be the recognition of the fact, that an appeal to such must be hopeless. No! We make no appeal to those who think essential principles may be compromised, that public tranquillity, even if it may be the stagnation of death, cannot be purchased at too high a price, and who consider that a gainful traffic may be driven with oppression if any thing be left to sustain the remnant of a miserable existence. But to those whose minds may not yet be finally made up on the great question of Southern rights and Southern wrongs, and who are yet hanging with a lingering, though baffled hope, that these wrongs will be redressed by the natural and salutary action of the General Government itself, we would desire to offer briefly a few reflections. They belong to the crisis—for there is no device of cunning that can disguise even from timidity itself, the fact that the crisis is rapidly approaching when the People of South-Carolina will have before them the issue of liberty or servitude—infamy or honor—resistance with all its hazards, or submission with unalterable disgrace. Our position is a peculiar one. We would not say that South-Carolina is committed, because that would imply that we have been led by an intemperate zeal into the occupation of an untenable position, to maintain which, we have rather now to consult a punctilious sense of honor than a rational estimate of our essential interests. It so happens that there are no romantic or chivalrous notions of national pride—that are half equal in their potency to the common, manifest, and we might almost say every-day and vital interests in the ground we have assumed—however insensibly we may feel the obligations that are due to the first class of these considerations.

The peculiarity of our position results from the fact, (whether for good or for evil remains to be proved,) that this State small in its terri-

torial extent and population, is in the van in the assertion of our right in the very centre of a geographical division of this Union, having common interests with ourselves; and which appears only to a limited degree, at least, to participate in the intense excitement which has pervaded all classes among ourselves. We shall not attempt to account for the phenomenon. We are not disposed to disparage the motives and conduct of others. We will not however gainsay our own discernment by admitting, in spite of all this seeming apathy, that because we feel intensely we cannot act understandingly on the subject of our rights; or that the fire which has been kindled in our breasts, has not thrown a light elsewhere to irradiate our path and to guide our steps.

For ten years, (precisely the period which elapsed between the Stamp Act of 1765 and the night when Samuel Adams and John Hancock caused the Tea to be thrown over board in the harbor of Boston,) the public mind of South-Carolina has vigilantly watched the progress which the Government of the Union was making towards the point which it has at last reached; a consolidation in the hands of an irresponsible majority, of almost every essential attribute of Sovereignty which the States vainly supposed they had reserved to themselves. We began by humble petitions, argumentative expositions, deferential remonstrances, terminating, after travelling through every sign of the political zodiac which marks a poor dependence upon a great and imperial central head, in Protests which we had the folly to think would at least be read by our oppressors, although they were incapable of answering the arguments on which they rested.

If a redress of our wrongs was postponed, we were always told that when the Public Debt was paid a reduction would be made in the amount of the tribute which we paid, and which formed a principal item in the aggregate of our grievances. That event has, for all financial purposes, taken place, and we see it accompanied by the tokens that the will of the majority is substituted for the Constitution, and no ray of hope beams upon us, to tell us, that we are to expect even bare and scanty justice. The Secretary of the Treasury, and the great champion of the American System, in despite of their angry contests for power, have both presented identical propositions for what they are pleased to call modifications of the Tariff.

The scheme, fellow-citizens, of the reduction thus offered is a gross insult to your understandings, and an unwarrantable piracy on your pockets. It is, indeed, nothing short of an expedient to keep the entire pressure of the restrictive system upon the articles of foreign production, which purchase our staples, and to remove its burden from all those articles which enter into the consumption of the manufacturing States, without entering into a competition with their products. In one word, it decrees that there shall be, in effect, a steady discriminating *bounty* of fifty per centum on Southern, and a *bounty* of fifty per centum on Northern industry. Disguise it as you may, this modification makes the Southern States Colonies.

Now, in all possible calmness and solemnity, we will ask whether we have delegated this power? Is it exercised as a substantive power to protect manufactures? Is there one word on this subject in the Constitution? And is it not derived by an implication which is utterly repudi-

ated by a decision of the very question at issue in the Convention which formed that instrument.

But we do not propose to moot constitutional questions. The argument has been exhausted. We desire to give a more practical scope to our reflections.

It may be asked what are we to do? The answer is at hand: *Why Resist.* What, by popular tumult, and revolutionary violence? No, we are yet a Sovereign party to the compact, and our State has nothing to do but to say, on the high authority of her Sovereignty, that her citizens *shall not* pay this tribute, and it *will not* be paid.

Fellow-citizens, should Congress rivet this system upon us, we do not see how the constituted authorities of our State can refrain from propounding to you in your Sovereign capacity the alternative of *Resistance or Submission!* We are free to confess that our Associations (without arrogating to ourselves even the privilege of advising our public functionaries as to the course they should pursue,) are distinctly and unalterably in favor of the former, because we believe that submission would cover with desolation as well as shame, that section of country which would be literally placed under the ban of the Empire, because we believe, without prosperity, the spirit of freedom so essential to the preservation of free institutions would depart forever, because we could not live under the burning shame of being recreant to the precepts and examples of that ancestry from whom we indeed derived a noble heritage.

But thanks be to the wisdom which framed the Constitution, we have something higher and better than the servile right to rebel; and that in the confederate form of our Government, in the reservation to the States of all rights not delegated—the Sovereign authority of a State is amply competent, without commotion or bloodshed, to shield its citizens from tyranny and oppression. When our State shall determine to interpose its Sovereign authority, we feel a confidence which no distrust shall impair, that those differences which, after all, have resulted rather from abstract refinements of constitutional law, than from any other cause, will be buried in the ramparts we will throw around our country, that *her* peril will be the cement of *our* Union—her honor, her success and her glory—the common objects of our joint and undying efforts. The Press, which is the peaceful engine of this Association, shall continue its challenges on the watch-tower. We call upon those who think and feel with us to be firm, consistent, tranquil, and patiently to wait the decision of Congress. Our Representatives are struggling for us and for the Constitution, with a zeal worthy of their great cause, and with an ability which wins applause even from their adversaries. Though desponding, their exertions are not renitted. Their past conduct—their high character—their known patriotism, entitles them to our highest confidence. They will not give up the cause of their country until a relentless majority close the discussion and tell them to despair. When that discussion is closed, and we are repelled from the doors of Congress, shall we obey them, when they tell us to despair? NO! God forbid! No, the liberties of South-Carolina are not held at the pleasure of a majority in Congress, but by the tenure of her own courage. She is a *Free, Sovereign and Independent State,*

and while her citizens are true to themselves, she will continue to be a *Free, Sovereign and Independent State.*

It is our duty, fellow-citizens, to warn you to be prepared to support the Rights of your State. We do not doubt that you have the constitutional right to determine on the mode and measure of redress, upon such an event as we are contemplating ; and still less do we question your determination to preserve your liberties at all hazards ; and when it is at length determined that you are to be perpetually subjected to "a system characterized by every thing that may define a tyranny the most odious," we will join in one common effort for the liberty and honor of the State, for we will not believe that there can then be any division among us. To those of our fellow-citizens who may entertain honest differences of opinion with us, we would say look at our country ! How much more are you willing she should bear ? Do you desire that her submission should be protracted until resistance would terminate in weakness and disgrace ?

The State looks to her Sons to defend her, in whatever form she may choose to proclaim her purpose to RESIST."

The President then suggested to the Convention, that, by reason of the interest and importance of the foregoing document, the several gentlemen composing the Committee on the Address, should affix thereto their respective signatures.

The Meeting concurring, the Secretary called the names of the members of the Committee on the Address ; who, thereupon, came forward and subscribed their signatures, as follows :—

C. J. COLCOCK, <i>Chairman.</i>	COMMITTEE.
EDWARD FISHER,	
NATHANIEL HEYWARD,	
WILLIAM C. PRESTON,	
EVAN BENBOW,	
BENJAMIN F. ELMORE,	
SAMUEL PRIOLEAU,	
WADDY THOMPSON, Jr.	
WILLIAM A. BULL,	
A. P. BUTLER,	

THOMPSON T. PLAYER,	COMMITTEE.
JOHN K. CHARLES,	

Col. Wm. C. Preston then rose and addressed the Convention in support of the foregoing document ; which, after the conclusion of Col. L's remarks, was put to the Convention and unanimously adopted.

The President then enquiring if there were other Resolutions to be presented, and no other business appearing, he closed the meeting of the Convention by a brief valedictory address.

And the Convention adjourned, *sine die.*



































































































































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